539
773 /47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung
171 stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friederich's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest
●796 ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

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796 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang) on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with [264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
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241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each
[769] bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

[541] Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Aug 75]

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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[801]

1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 778 184 796 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 796 The rojong song constitutes another significant element of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 262 In a single related group there is awareness, however feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

773 612 262 In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
●796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[620] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [654] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 778 796 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë [103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected with this place. 539

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.

The story of Tamarunang.
A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

796 In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [244 796] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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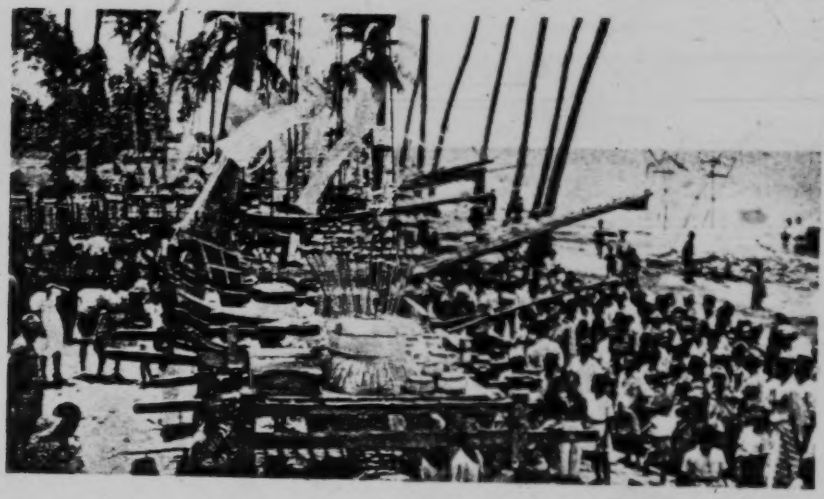

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

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Procession from the house of the adat community head of Borongloë to the sacred spot. The buffalo to be slaughtered (with a white cloth on its back), is led along. See, among others, pages 93 and 98.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

The same procession. In the middle, wearing a white headdress, one can see the pinati. (Page 82.) Young men are carrying the objects required for the ritual.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 8]

MK [566 cont.]
756 coitus, that they are impotent, which is the reason that in
832 Makassar they are called kweëen, from the Makassarese kawe = impotent. On account of this characteristic, they have free access to the court at all times, even to the rooms of the young princesses. Dr. Matthes does not believe that the female bissu are prostitutes like the Dajak balian, because they are seldom or never pretty enough to make young gentlemen lose their heads over them.

As we have noted, they are principally consulted as doctors or doctresses, sanro.

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796 Otherwise, they appear chiefly when festivals are held, for
756 example, in honor of a birth, at funerals, teeth filing, weddings, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies, which consist primarily of dancing and singing. They also drive off the evil spirits, for which they use specific musical instruments.

B [567] There are also shamans among the Batak, usually
791 women. They bear the name sibaso. Baso is the Malayan
797 bahasa = word, term; sibaso can therefore be translated as "the word," because the utterance of anyone who is possessed by a spirit is regarded as the word. The spirits who possess the sibaso are in general begu. The descent of these begu is called sijar. They are consulted about all kinds of things, but mainly about illnesses.

MI Shamanism also occurs among the Malays. This comes
787 out most clearly in the conjuring of the trubuk as this is done
226 in Brouwer Strait on Sumatra's east coast. When it is time for the catch and the schools of trubuk do not appear, this is attributed to a supernatural reason and an attempt is made to learn the cause of their staying away as well as the means to make the fish come.

MI At the head of the fish stands a woman, Djindjang radja,
791 who serves as medium during the conjuring. She is possessed
787 by a spirit and in this condition delivers the necessary oracles.
786

[636 cont.]

782 776 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female 778 782 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these 796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 778 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 756 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India. 793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example. 181

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc. 795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar. 764 562 178 554 782 796●

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They 517 546

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned